Amit, Vered and Noel Dyck (eds.) 2011. *Young men in uncertain times*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books. 346 pp. Hb.: £55.00. ISBN 978-0-85745-249-8.

This edited volume compiles 11 detailed ethnographic accounts on the lives of young men in a world marked by significant socio-economic changes. While dealing with a wide variety of contexts and subjects, each of these accounts centres on the thoughts, experiences and acts of young men in interaction with the world they find themselves in. The focus on this interaction allows for a move away from categories and stereotypes to the thoughtful and often creative ways in which young men try to deal with this world and make sense of their lives in it.

The first of three parts brings together three studies that examine how young men who find themselves at crossroads in their lives look for a place in a changing and challenging environment. Ritty Lukose's study of commodified masculinity among non-elite young men in non-metropolitan Kerala (India) highlights the way in which globalisation and liberalisation affect young men's interpretation and manifestation of masculinity. Based on her experiences among Canadian soldiers in Afghanistan, Anne Irwin discards the interpretation of combat service as a rite of passage as too simplistic. Her account demonstrates that it does not generate adulthood; rather, the time and experiences in Afghanistan bring about men who vacillate between being boys and old men. The study of Jankowiak, Moore and Pan on young men in China explores economic, social and political changes that affect gender differences and generate a new phase of youth.

The four studies that make up the second part explore how young men try to craft a life of their own in a transforming society that confines their opportunities. Daniel Mains argues in his study on young people in urban Ethiopia that migration for work exemplifies a form of agency that allows for a shift in relations of reciprocity and support, albeit temporarily, and demonstrates the need to rethink categories of youth and adult in this context. Deborah Elliston's study of young men's activism in the nationalist struggle in Polynesia provides an interesting account of the interaction between masculinity, exchange relations and labour practices, as well as of the moral conflicts herein that result from conflicts between French colonial and Polynesian systems of value. Martin Frederiksen's work on Georgian brotherhoods illustrates the alternative resources young people turn to. Lacking opportunities in society at large, the brotherhood offers young men a shelter that provides support and allows for morality and masculinity to be enacted. Rosellen Roche's chapter on young men in Northern Ireland focuses on 'hardening' through low-level violence as a process of becoming.

The chapters in the final part explore the thoughts and acts of young men who are considered to be in trouble. Susan Terrio's account deals with preconceptions in French juvenile courts, with a revealing focus on young people who stand up to the law. Victor Rios and Cesar Rodriguez discuss racialisation in the context of education, law and work among black and Latino young men in California. Unable to fulfil working-class aspirations and expectations, the authors argue that these young men have turned into a penalised class. Gary Armstrong and James Rosbrook-Thompson depict young men's lives in multi-cultural Camden, London, and in particular the way they read and navigate their environment. Gillian Evans argues in her chapter on working-class boys in London for a focus on social class when discussing trouble in young men's lives in the United Kingdom, and discusses the interplay of violence and coming of age.

This book demonstrates the significance of ethnographic research that brings to the fore the

experiences of young men and at the same time thoroughly takes into account local and global contexts. The diversity in contributions creates revealing insights in the similarities and differences of the challenges and contradictions young men face throughout the world, and in socio-cultural transformations at large. The editors have compiled interesting and relevant accounts that challenge us to think beyond received ideas on gender or race and illustrate the complex realities of subjects ranging from violence to education. Critical reflections on notions such as risk or success and failure find resonance throughout various contributions in this volume and are thought-provoking. The innovative approaches proposed by the contributors as well as the thorough, well-illustrated discussions greatly enhance our understanding of young men's lives, and will certainly inspire and be of interest to many.

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Behrends, Andrea, Stephen P. Reyna and Günther Schlee (eds.) 2011. *Crude domination: an anthropology of oil*. New York: Berghahn Books. 325 pp. HB: $95.00/£55.00. ISBN 9780857452559.

In the words of its editors, *Crude Domination* aims 'to propose a research strategy for anthropological analysis of oil' (p. 5). In the volume's brief afterword, Günther Schlee suggests that readers ought to read this book twice (p. 302), first focusing on oil, as the editors propose, and then focusing on questions of subjectivity and conflict. This might better serve as an orienting admonition, not a concluding statement. Rather than analytic work on oil itself – its materialities, the global industry that extracts it, its price or use – contributors explore now-classic themes that accrete *around* oil, and in particular around the contested accumulation of oil money, including the relationship between oil rents and violence, sovereignty, nationalism and imperialism, and the remade possibilities of citizenship in petro-states.

In their introduction, Reyna and Behrends label the paradox between oil riches and negative development outcomes the '*crazy* curse' (p. 6), and take the investigation of this curse as the proposed research object of an anthropology of oil. Both the language of 'the curse' and a narrow focus on oil as money render this approach unduly similar to oil research in economics and political science, broadly known as resource curse scholarship. That Reyna and Behrends replace 'resource' with 'crazy' to indicate the puzzle of vast wealth alongside increasing poverty does little new analytical work. The editors do attempt to distinguish their theoretical project through a focus on domination, which, they suggest, 'has not played a central role in the existing social science of oil' (p. 19). Through an extended metaphor of 'bopping a piñata' (p. 21), they define domination structurally, as a frame to explain 'why, and how, certain groups regulate other groups, and, in so doing, acquire social value, like capital' (p. 21). Again it is not at all clear that this is an intervention; other well-known work on oil cited by these authors – from Karl's *Paradox of Plenty* (1997) to Coronil's *Magical State* (1997) – has theorised how oil wealth produces and reproduces certain forms of domination. The introduction ends with a series of acronyms and proposed formulae: oil's crazy curse becomes OCC (p. 24); modes of domination and oil modes of domination become MODs and OMODs respectively (p. 22); leading to the proposition that the severity of OCC 'is positively related to the intensity of contradictions in MODs' and OMODs (p. 24). To the extent that the editors intend to provide a new theoretical architecture for working on oil, it is unclear either that their framework is new or that the contributors to the volume have followed their lead. Rather, the chapters that follow contain heterogeneous ways to think about oil, and the dispersion effect seems inconsistent with the editors' overarching structural frame.

Jonathan Friedman's essay 'Oiling the Race to the Bottom' accompanies the introduction,

offering a broad-brush political economy of the contemporary with gestures toward how resources might be productively accounted for in our geopolitical moment. After dismissing globalisation, neoliberalism and assemblages as inadequate theoretical approaches, Friedman advocates what one might call positivist structural Marxism, encouraging model-making and the interpretation of ethnographic material not as 'the products of disorderly processes' but rather as 'disorderly situations generated by orderly processes that can be understood, and ... explained' (p. 43).

Case studies from Africa follow: Watts on the Niger Delta, Behrends on the Chad/Darfur border and Reyna on Chad itself, and Kajsa Friedman on Congo Brazzaville. Watts' approach to oil is maximalist, going beyond an understanding of oil-as-money to the substance's mineral, social and symbolic life history in Nigeria. He continues to think through the question of oil and governability, offering a genealogy of the Delta insurgency. Histories of the present, Watts suggests (p. 69), necessarily trouble approaches like the resource curse, which assume universal developmentalist teleologies of a liberal state. Behrends, writing on the historical verge of South Sudan, also offers a regional history of oil. Like Watts, her analysis points to the ahistoricity of resource curse work, which often assumes oil rents radically remake political systems when in fact, she argues (p. 99), oil rents intensify pre-existing political arrangements. In her piece, Friedman suggests that we understand increased allegations of child witchcraft as related to Congo-Brazzaville's entanglements with structural adjustment programmes and transnational corporations. Throughout, oil provides a backdrop – an explanatory political economy – but is not itself the object of analysis. Finally, Reyna's piece focuses on 'informal imperialisms' (p. 158) exercised in part through oil investment in Chad's Doba Basin, and the subjectivities produced by these imperial practices, including novel forms of fear and resistance. Here again, the consideration of oil is focused on its effects as money – 'the production, distribution, and consumption of petroleum revenues' (p. 159).

Research in Latin America follows, with chapters on Brazil, Mexico and Venezuela (Gledhill), Venezuela (Schiller) and Bolivia (Gustafson). Together, these pieces shift our attention from conflict and violence to nationalism and sovereignty. Tracing comparative trajectories of oil nationalisation, Gledhill shows how widespread popular support for local ownership still fractures in practice through 'shifting political relationships within and between elites, specific interest groups, and subaltern classes' (p. 187). Gledhill chose not to use a 'purely ethnographic perspective' (p. 187) but instead to trace the broad contours of political and social change in each site. Schiller and Gustafson, on the other hand, provide fine-grained ethnographic analysis to great effect. Schiller's work on the relationship between community media, political subjectivity and the oil industry opens room for reformulation – What is the state? What does 'clientelism' look like on the ground? – rather than taking empirics for granted. Her material shows the 'polysemous' nature of oil nationalism (p. 192) and militates against simplified critiques of barrio-based media (p. 216). Gustafson also uses ethnography to generative theoretical ends, showing space not to be always-already given (the nation-state, the Chaco region) but rather the product of 'struggles over signification' (p. 223) in which resources play a central role.

Two chapters from Post-Soviet Russia conclude the body of the volume: Stammler on Siberia, and Khizriyeva and Reyna on oil and war in Chechnya. Stammler asks why Russia's most productive supply region, home to nomadic reindeer herders, has been free of violent conflict. Starting with a story of nomad suicide, Stammler shows that an absence of sovereign violence is not an absence of what Reyna refers to earlier (p. 152) as structural violence, laid across specific histories and landscapes. Here, Soviet-era ideas of *kollektiv* (p. 248) laid across a territory too vast for isolated individuals to defend results in the unequal coexistence of

two land-use systems: oil and gas alongside reindeer herding. Khizriyeva and Reyna's contribution is the first and only chapter to explicitly take up the introduction's focus on domination by tracing the history of oil and violence in Chechnya. Starting from the earliest uses of kerosene in the region in the 1500s to the Baku worker's strike of 1903 through the Chechen war of 1989–2000, the authors show the entanglements of oil in struggles over dispossession and marginalisation.

From its introduction, Reyna and Behrends were explicit that this volume interrogates what they called the crazy curse – oil's contradiction between spectacular accumulation and immiseration. While the contributions don't take up this theme uniformly, they are nearly uniform in their understanding of oil as money or oil as a proxy for geopolitical power. These approaches are crucial, as the effects of oil as money are profound. And yet, as 'a research strategy for anthropological analysis of oil', this approach is too narrow. Portrayed thinly as a revenue-producing machine, the concrete specificity of both the industry and the resource itself recede, becoming a black box with predictable effects. A robust anthropology of oil will have to account not only for the effects of oil rents, but also for the expansive socio-natural life of the resource both before and after its instantiation as money – questions of materiality, labour, contracting regimes, technology and infrastructure through the on-going processes of exploration, extraction, production, transport, sales, marketing and, of course, use in the burning of fossil fuels, the question of global warming, and beyond.

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Boehm, Deborah A. 2012. *Intimate migrations: gender, family, and illegality among transnational Mexicans*. New York: New York University Press. 188 pp. Hb.: $49.00. ISBN 978 0 8147 8983 4.

Deborah Boehm's *Intimate Migrations* begins and ends with stories of transnational Mexican families that highlight the intersection of intimacy and 'illegality' in deeply personal ways. The stories underscore what is at stake for families whose lives and homes are divided by the US–Mexican border. This evocative ethnography is based on 13 years of transnational fieldwork among familial networks stretching between states in the US West and Southwest and the Mexican states of Zacatecas and San Luis Potosí. While contributing to the growing literature on everyday lived experiences of transnationalism, the book advances the study of the state, intimate interactions and transnational migration.

Central to Boehm's argument is that the migration of individuals cannot be disembedded from the families of which they are members. In particular she highlights that the grandfathers and fathers of current migrants were part of the US government's Bracero Program (1942–64), which contracted Mexican men to provide agricultural labour, and set in motion a pattern of primarily male-led migration that continues today. In grounding the desire of transnational families to move freely between Mexico and the United States in the long-standing interdependence of these economies and families, her work attests to the value of adopting a historical perspective in migration studies.

The book is divided into three similarly structured parts, each with two chapters: one chapter on emic understandings of kinship, gender and age/generation, and the subsequent chapter on how the US categorisation of (im)migrants as 'legal' or 'illegal' penetrates these understandings and mediates their lives. In Part One, Boehm discusses family reunification, using as a departure point the fact that the need for families to be reunified

arises precisely because the US state divides them. Drawing on De Genova's work (2002) on 'illegality', she details numerous ethnographic examples of 'borderland families' of mixed migration status living in various residential arrangements across the US–Mexico border; for instance, one family consists of undocumented parents and adolescents, a daughter who is a US citizen by birth, and aunts and uncles who are undocumented, permanent US residents, and naturalised US citizens.

In Part Two, Boehm shifts her attention to gendered subjectivities and relations. She shows how the predominant familial configuration of men living in the United States and women and children living in Mexico that arises from migration complicates gendered norms and practices. Contributing to the literature problematising the notion that migration inevitably leads to women's liberation, Boehm argues that masculinity is both 'reasserted' and 'compromised' through migration, and this at once 'frees' and 'constrains' women (p. 89). For instance, men face tremendous pressure to migrate to provide for their families and thus demonstrate their masculinity, while women who remain in Mexico must assume male responsibilities, prompting one woman to proclaim 'Now I am a Man and a Woman!' Though the US state shapes who migrates and through which routes in gendered ways, Boehm also shows how in cases of domestic violence, some migrant women use the state to have their abusive husbands deported and/or travel to Mexico with their children, knowing that their undocumented husbands cannot follow them without risking their ability to return. These stories provide important glimpses into tensions *within* families, not just vis-à-vis the state. Further discussion of the ways in which internal familial conflicts articulate with migration processes would perhaps add greater nuance to this already complex picture.

With its focus on age, generation and migration, Part Three makes an important contribution to studies of transnational childhood. Boehm argues that the lives of young people in undocumented (im)migrant families or mixed status families highlight the intersection of spatiality and belonging. Within a wider framework of 'contingent citizenship' (p. 130), Boehm uses Ngai's term (2004) *alien citizens* ('here/not here') to show how US citizens are constructed as aliens through their family relations; for example, a child who is a US citizen lives in Mexico because her undocumented parents are concerned that their status could jeopardise her security if she were to live with them in New Mexico. Conversely, Boehm proposes the term *citizen aliens* ('not here/here') to refer to undocumented children who are 'de facto members of the nation' (p. 136), living in neighbourhoods, attending school and working, but who are not recognised by the state. Through such examples of partial, relational and contingent national membership, *Intimate Migrations* demonstrates the enduring salience of place in shaping the lives and senses of belonging of transnational Mexican families and underscores the persistent power of the US state in shaping their social reproduction over time.

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Dávila, Arlene. 2012. *Culture works: space, value, and mobility across the neoliberal Americas*. New York: New York University Press. 241 pp. Pb.: $22.00. ISBN 9780814744307.

Culture Works is Arlene Dávila's most recent contribution to Latino/a and American Studies in which she critically approaches the cultural politics of neoliberalism. Based on ethnographic research in Puerto Rico, New York City and Buenos Aires, the author

reveals how dynamics of space, value and mobility that are at play in each site have similar implications when culture is put to work. Dávila meticulously demonstrates how, within the neoliberal logics, culture is not free of racial, national and colonial imperatives. Through various case studies her anthropological investigation shows how neoliberalising processes across the Americas intersect with particular cultural policies and thus produce significant inequalities and tensions within creative economies.

The book is divided in seven interrelated chapters that challenge the idea of culture as a taken-for-granted economic strategy and resource that bears healthy global creative cities. Chapter 1 addresses Puerto Rico's privatisation of space through shopping mall construction. The author contextualises shopping behaviour within particular social and cultural norms in Puerto Rico. Not only does the shopping mall become a political space but also a key space for resistance. Chapter 2 focuses on grassroots cultural production as part of a rising informal sector in Puerto Rico. Davila's analysis exposes how neoliberalism constrains Latin American artisans in the informal sector by diminishing their access to upscaled spaces. Chapter 3 discusses how liberal financing policies in New York City reflect but also create different racial and cultural hierarchies. It shows how some urban residents are bypassed and how economic investments play a preeminent role in determining value. As a result the majority of the city's residents remain at the margins of its creative economy. Chapter 4 zooms further in, focusing on neoliberal cultural policies in relation to the evaluation of Latino/a art among cultural community groups in New York City, and more precisely the feasibility of constructing a National Museum of the American Latino. In chapter 5 the author reflects on evaluations of Latino/a art and artists through the case study of New York-based Puerto Rican artist Miguel Luciano. His work transcends narrow identity categories in arts and succeeds in the recuperation of community. The analysis in chapter 6 brings the reader to an understanding of the unequal access to space in Buenos Aires, the tango capital of the world, while looking at global exchanges and networks that are created and sustained through tango. Chapter 7 also touches upon the global by looking at the contemporary state of creative work and the possibilities that are given to creative workers. The chapter focuses on the influx of mostly highly skilled creative expats in the Global South, especially Buenos Aires. This influx is understood as a decoy solution to massive unemployment in Europe and the United States that helps sustain and feed disparate class and national identities. Dávila highlights how countries like Argentina thus become outlets to outsource the kind of dreams and aspirations that 'first-world' nations can no longer assure to their workers-citizens back home.

Dávila convincingly analyses issues of space (who is at the margin and who at the centre), the creation of value of culture and people's mobility (both social and physical) in all seven chapters. Each chapter has its own trajectory, is clearly written and provides solid empirical data that support her statements. The author, herself a Puerto Rican anthropologist whose primary research has been on Latino experiences and representation, made an engaged study that forces the reader to look beyond the mere notion of appropriation of culture. Therefore *Culture Works* is more than another addition to the extensive scholarship that critically contests the easy commercialisation and commodification of culture. It is an insightful, very well-written book that makes us understand the many unique formulations of culture that are generated in different places and the contradictory tensions of neoliberalism. Dávila foregrounds the types of differences in creative work but, most importantly, she acknowledges the actors that are struggling for cultural equity, representation and citizenship throughout US and Latin American cities.

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Davis, Elizabeth Anne. 2012. *Bad souls: madness and responsibility in modern Greece*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. 368 pp. Pb.: £17.99. ISBN 978-0822351061.

The movement of inpatients from custodial to community care has been a major humanitarian reform in psychiatry around the world. Liberalising social policies assisted in reducing the stigma associated with psychiatric illness, giving patients the right to both live and receive treatment outside large institutions. In Greece, psychiatric reform was linked with EU membership, which provided extensive funding to modernise psychiatric services from the shameful conditions of the past. Coupled with the rights of patients formerly institutionalised come responsibilities, obligations paired with privileges, and it is to this issue that Davis' work addresses itself.

Responsibility and its limits among psychiatric patients and the staff who care for them in Thrace, in the borderlands of northeastern Greece, form the subject of *Bad Souls*. Responsibility here refers to the new duty of patients to care for themselves in this 'democratic experiment' (p. 4) of the state, one that is tied in with modernity in Greece. This experiment is also situated as a new ethical practice within the history of treatment in psychiatry. Davis argues that psychiatry in Greece is based on the uncertainty of the premises of psychiatric practice globally regarding diagnosis, clinical encounters and treatment, but that in Thrace this is accompanied by a moralism of responsibility. Rather than opportunities opening up for patients within this programme of deinstitutionalisation and psychiatric reform, patients become instead isolated from 'worlds of meaning' (p. 6), and exiled into a community where responsibility for care falls upon the self. Failing this, they adopt a contingency of dependence through forms of pathology. Davis represents the parameters of freedom for former inpatients, delineated through therapeutic relationships that focus more on cooperation than negotiation.

The author draws on extensive fieldwork using an ethnographic approach to describe psychiatric services and clinical encounters. Case studies illustrate contradictions and problems around care and responsibility experienced by patients and their therapists. Looking at Greek psychiatric texts and theories drawn from liberalism, social welfare and humanism, she reveals cultural, legal and therapeutic issues surrounding diagnosis and treatment more broadly in Greek psychiatry. Davis argues that while the psychoanalytic method has become obsolete, the paradigm that replaces it – biopsychiatry – is still inadequate, leading to uncertainty in communication and practices within the clinic. What was being discussed in clinical encounters was 'blame for the persistence of mental pathology' (p. 13). Davis seeks to interrogate this blame in three ways, arguing through the perspectives of truth, culture and freedom to discern whether pathology was due to dishonesty, cultural difference or inhumane systems of care.

The first section on truth looks at the moral judgements that are made in diagnosis, judgements that are 'assembled ... into something like a logic of the diagnostic truth game' (p. 56). Case studies of treatment-resistant patients are scrutinised as they stand accused by therapists of deception, of seeking diagnosis certification to claim state benefits for profit. Therapists question whether these patients have a capacity for truth, for self care and self responsibility. Diagnosis here, she argues, becomes a moral activity because both groups may be complicit in deception.

In the second section Davis takes up the dialogue between anthropology and psychiatry to examine culture. Here the focus is on communities, on how individuals live within communities, a belonging that she argues is 'beset by troubles with boundaries' (p. 121) as patients both yearn for and fear living here. Individual pathology needs to be separated from cultural norms in minority cultures, themselves pathologised as appearing 'bizarre and immoral to therapists' (p. 117). Davis focuses on clinical encounters with minority patients to highlight diagnostic and treatment contradictions, exploring how these patients make moral claims on their therapists and the state that could not be expressed outside of the clinical encounter.

Lastly, Davis uses the lens of freedom to address ethical implications of psychiatric

reform in Greece. Involuntary commitment to care is discussed in the context of legislative frameworks that highlight conflicts between autonomy and the right to treatment. This impasse between compulsory treatment based on danger, or the deterioration in mental health without treatment, is based on the construction of personal freedom as a threat to health itself. Davis explores this by drawing on reformist, legal and psychiatric perspectives, with a special concern for the unregulated power of psychiatry.

This is a complex, persuasive work, broad in its reach, defining the conditions in which former Greek psychiatric inpatients live. Ethics for Davis is a relational practice, hence the work details therapeutic and clinical encounters, intimately portrayed with analyses of the perspectives of patients and staff in determining the parameters of freedom following psychiatric reform in Greece.

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Dew, Kevin. 2012. *The cult and science of public health. A sociological investigation*. New York and London: Berghahn Books. 180 pp. Hb.: $64.99. ISBN 9780857453396.

Kevin Dew's *The Cult and Science of Public Health* is an extremely detailed, structured and intelligent investigation into the vast, constantly changing world of public health. Dew excels at addressing the many different variants of public health as a whole: from epidemiology and social determinants to expansive campaigns focused on large populations and environments where the lines between hazard and health become blurred. Where other pieces of work of this nature tend to read as broad and one-sided, Dew has provided a stellar account of the importance of public health in our world as well as the effect the role of public health has on our societies.

Despite its concise length (it reads at only 146 pages), Dew has taken on the difficult task of detailing the science and art of public health, in historical sense and through its modern-day trials and tribulations, and succeeded. Beginning with Dr John Snow and the foundation of public health, Dew takes detailed examples of true, historical events and uses them to describe how the role of public health has evolved and mutated throughout various societies. However, these accounts are not simply written as black-and-white stories. Rather they are examined through their empirical influences, their logical fallacies and their true progression throughout a very important time in history. Each development in the history of public health – from human waste in the River Thames to the outpourings of soot and smoke from factories during the Industrial Revolution – is carefully and thoroughly illustrated, the result being a fascinating account into how public health became the vast institution it is today.

Dew continues to educate with his discussion on modern-day public health. Whether discussing the latest trends in health care or the tension between economic efficiency and social justice, he converses every side of the equation, all while coming across as detailed and knowledgeable. He asks 'how can health promotion both promote individual choice and at the same time convince individuals that the experts know best?' (p. 53) – a challenge in today's age of act-first-ask-questions later. He addresses this through a detailed look at vaccinators vs anti-vaccinators in immunisation debates, and elaborates the importance of looking at both sides by using medical expert opinion and Émile Durkheim's thoughts on egoism.

Durkheim's theories are indeed Dew's major sources of argument. According to him, a Durkheimian perspective can provide insights into the role of public health, and in order to accomplish this one must examine public health as a cult of humanity. This cult of humanity would, in theory, express the unity of society and centre on common humanity – what individuals hold common in highly differentiated societies. Dew succeeds in this argument in discussing how to best address health economics and policies that

can influence the largest population of people. During his discussions on public health and international politics he uses the creation of organisations such as the WHO to explain how entire populations are potentially under the influences of broad-based programmes to improve health, which can be grasped under Durkheim's cult of humanity theory. The only problems he runs into are his discussions of health hostile environments and the roles of health practitioners. In these chapters, Dew almost provides a news exposé on what's behind the scenes and why it is wrong. While still interesting, these chapters do not necessarily fit with the tone of the book. One of the major arguments that comes through in the book is that public health can appropriate any means possible to facilitate its agenda to improve the health of the population. This argument is pursued systematically, in almost every part, and comes together better as a whole in terms of overall context. While using Durkheim to address public health is understandable, in certain places it falls a little flat, leading the reader to make their own judgement about what is right and wrong in that context.

Towards the beginning of the book, Dew paraphrases Marx, stating that 'public health is not only about understanding the world but changing it' (p. 13). Despite its few flaws, the book does a marvellous job of trying to achieve that. His contribution to this field should be required reading for anyone interested in breaching public health, or those already in public health who need to brush up.

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Donahoe, Brian and Joachim Otto Habeck (eds.) 2011. *Reconstructing the House of Culture: community, self, and the makings of culture in Russia and beyond*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books. xii + 336 pp. Hb.: $95.00. ISBN 978-0-857-452-757.

This volume examines an institution that many ethnographers of the post-Soviet world encounter, but to which few have given detailed consideration: the House of Culture. Sometimes also known as a 'club', the House of Culture is a type of community centre serving a city neighbourhood, enterprise, town or village that offers space for performances and festive gatherings as well as classes for adults and children. Building and maintaining Houses of Culture was part of a larger Soviet project of remaking communities through making arts and high culture an accessible part of everyday life. For anthropologists, studying this institution and the transformations it has undergone since the collapse of the Soviet Union is thus an opportunity to consider how projects of building Culture-with-a-capital-c become part of 'culture' as anthropologists know it: the realm of practices that often go unsaid, but are integral to how people understand themselves and build communities.

At the core of the volume are six essays written by members of a research team based at the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology in Halle, Germany. Led by Brian Donahoe and Joachim Otto Habeck, the researchers conducted concurrent fieldwork in five towns across Siberia. The common question was 'What is the sociopolitical significance of the House of Culture today [. . .] and how has it changed over time?' (p. 279). In an effort to make data comparable across locations, the researchers used common guidelines for observations and semi-structured interviews. They also conducted a survey of residents on their leisure practices, which generated comparative data on the role of the House of Culture in these five communities. Additional essays by scholars who were not part of this group, but who have studied Houses of Culture in the former Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and beyond, add wider geographical comparisons and expand the range of conceptual approaches.

The result is an edited volume of unusual internal cohesion, which at the same time avoids repetition and uniformity. Bruce Grant's epilogue nicely captures the paradox of diversity and uniformity in Soviet

culture-building when he calls the House of Culture an 'eminently recognizable' institution that embodies 'the bravura of trying to capture a single cultural project under one roof' (p. 266). Similarly, the essays succeed in showing the many meanings with which this institution remains invested in post-Soviet communities with very different socioeconomic and ethnic compositions. Some Houses of Culture are award-winning venues for community performance, some virtually abandoned, others mere memories. But all are more than just buildings, but also nodes of relationships where the community defines itself as cohesive or divided, exciting or boring. The authors use their institutional ethnographies as points of departure to discuss the relationship between performance, show and sincerity in post-Soviet culture (Sántha and Safonova, Halemba), the connections between 'Culture' as a classical ideal and the diversity of ethnic 'cultures' in Siberia (Vaté and Diachkova, Habeck, King), and the relationship between political and economic elites and cultural institutions (Halemba, Donahoe, Iğmen, Putnina).

In addition to presenting a multifaceted discussion of an understudied institution, the research team members also lay out their methodology in a set of appendices. The description of the research design and lists of interview and survey questions make the book a valuable resource for courses on social research methods.

Despite the rich information presented in this volume, I found myself wanting to learn more about the aesthetics of performances in the Houses of Culture, and the ideas of human and social transformation embedded in the staff's pedagogical approaches. Many essays claim that relatively little formal instruction or group practice goes on in the House of Culture under study, and speculate what this tells us about the distinctions between paper reports and actual activities. As at least one researcher was told by staff (p. 144), the relative absence of regular meetings of hobby circles reported from all locations may have been caused by the timing of the field visits, most of which took place in April and May, 2006 (p. 286). In my experience of research in cities and villages of European Russia, the peak time for formal cultural instruction is between October and March; by April, the focus shifts either to agricultural work, or to the festivities that go along with a string of public holidays in May and June.

Greater attention to the aesthetics and pedagogies of post-Soviet cultural work may have led the authors to a more nuanced view of the Soviet past. In most essays, the Soviet era appears as a time of bureaucratic planning and state-centred, top-down approaches to culture-building. The post-Soviet period, by contrast, is characterised by increasing commercialisation and sometimes by a return to older traditions of local self-government (Putnina, Savova). With the exception of Ali Iğmen's study of club houses in 1920s Kyrgyzstan, no author draws on archival materials relating to their House of Culture. As Alexander King demonstrates when he explores the influence of experiences with Soviet travelling brigades on present-day musicians, the specific genres of performance and community activism promoted through Soviet cultural policy can have unexpected consequences in post-Soviet settings. Considering that all surveys show that children and teenagers are the largest group of regular users of the House of Culture (p. 139), knowing more about the methods of learning and aesthetic expression in these institutions would help us gauge the degrees to which Soviet approaches to cultural transformation are reproduced for generations born after the Soviet Union collapsed.

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Donham, Donald L. with photographs by Santu Mofokeng. 2011. *Violence in a time of liberation: murder and ethnicity at a South African gold mine, 1994*. Durham: Duke University Press. 256 pp. Pb.: $22.95. ISBN 978-0-8223-4853-5.

After Mandela's inauguration in 1994, Donald Dnham began his fieldwork intending to study

'changes to the organization of production after the end of apartheid' (p. 194). The year before he had faced a series of negotiations before finally gaining access to his field site, the Cinderella gold mine of Johannesburg. Once there, he came across a challenging event: the assassination of two Zulu workers inside the black workers' compound. The murders and their aftermath obliged him to diverge from his subject. Regardless of its peculiarities, as in other conflicts in the region among blacks in those years, what happened at Cinderella was widely narrated and accepted as an ethnic clash, part of the East Rand War: they were murdered because they were Zulu. Puzzled by the 1990s ethnicity card being played in South Africa along with the rejection of former apartheid policies based on blatant racist assumptions on cultural differences and ethnic boundaries, Donham dove into a sea of narratives about the event and came up stating that Cinderella's murders were 'symptomatic of processes created by national liberation in South Africa' (p. 174).

Donham's text and Santu Mofokeng's photographs dramatically depict the dilapidated character of Cinderella in comparison with other gold hostels, exposing it as 'the cast-off debris of some past disaster, decaying in the present' (p. 12). Chapter 2, entitled 'white stories', shows that despite being a legible narrative, daily life dynamics in the mine challenged any 'black-versus-white' approach, revealing that 'perhaps the secret of apartheid [was that] as it attempted to "separate" white and black, it depended [. . .] on the mixing that capitalism required' (p. 67). Chapter 3 reveals death as a constant companion, and a social landscape where death threats were so routine that 'the murders of Cinderella were quickly forgotten [. . .] the culprits [. . .] never identified' (p. 86) and all Zulu workers fired (p. 151). As Buthelezi and his Inkatha Freedom Party demanded 'its own kingdom, its own homeland' to Zululand, anxiety emerged inside the compound and all Zulus – even those belonging to the National Union of Mineworkers and allied to the African National Congress – were gradually construed as a threat to the emergent new republic. In Chapter 4 Donham addresses a chain of events that led to that Good Friday, around a month before the democratic national election, when Zulu mine workers were chased away by Xhosa workers and sent home by mine management for a cooling-off period of two months, based on the assumption that as 'suspect national subjects' (p. 107) they would spoil both the unionism and political alignment at Cinderella. In Chapters 5 and 6, Donham demonstrates that labour unions were key players in the process of freeing workers and erasing history, gradually replacing mine management roles in what the author calls 'unionization from above'. The intimate and exploitative relationships in the Cinderella mine that seasonally brought together black men from different places to work together reproduced, in a nutshell, within the mine's horizontal and vertical space, what racial segregation all over the country meant. Separated from the means of production and poorly paid for their jobs, mine worker's survival rested upon various exploitative relationships with their co-workers. Donham unearths the crucial role played by gangs and vigilante groups within the compound as repressive forces, and moneylenders. Of these groups, significant space is dedicated to the *amabutho* who sought to sustain their control and gangster activities with the silent support of both NUM and mine management. According to archival research and the testimonies Donham gathered at the time, the *amabutho* were probably responsible for the murders that took place when the Zulu workers came back to the mine on 16 June, a day that celebrated the 1976 Soweto Uprising.

In Chapter 7, we see that among the motives for the murders, the ethnic threat to the emergent democracy had been, although not absolutely planned, an efficacious way of assuring a smooth transition into a new capitalist order. In building a New South Africa, long-rejected ethnic primordialism was resurrected as a reasonable excuse for violence, silencing those who otherwise could have demanded reparation for their suffering and changes in class exploitation.

If two decades ago Donham's perspective might have sounded preposterous in some academic and political circles, the 2012 debates on the Marikana massacre have shown that more than atavist ethnical threatening values, disputes between unionists for miner allegiance could also be plausible causes for the killing of more than 30 workers during a strike. Extensive research and creative analysis like Donham's have helped to weave less dichotomous and more nuanced narratives on contemporary South Africa and its particular way of building democratic representation in a highly unequal capitalist scenario.

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Friedman, John T. 2011. *Imagining the post-apartheid state. An ethnographic account of Namibia*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books. 324 pp. Hb.: $95/£55.00. ISBN 978-0-85745-090-6.

The aim of this book is to give us an ethnography of the new nation-state Namibia as it is subjectively experienced by its inhabitants in their everyday life. However, the author does not focus on an easily observable specific group of people to write a holistic account of their way of life, distinguishing the role of the state as something outside and even opposite to their community, but concentrates on aspects of state–subject relations with reference to one distinctly marginal region, Kaokoland, in the extreme north-west of the country, with its administrative centre, Opuwo, as a main focus. At the time of the main period of fieldwork in 2000–2001, about 34,000 of the approximately two million Namibians lived in Kaokoland. These Kaokolanders were characterised by linguistic and ethnic heterogeneity and the 6,000 people living in Opuwo even more so. Friedman also included people living outside the area, but in one way or another still connected to Kaokoland.

First we learn about the expectations a variety of people had when Namibia became independent in 1991, and how in their opinion the government lived up to them in comparison to their experiences during the colonial period. On the whole they felt that the apartheid administration had been more like a father looking after their interests as head of the family than the SWAPO-dominated state. This finding is confirmed in later chapters and summarised in the conclusion that 'paternalism and its concomitant ideals of paternal authority have emerged as most central to the political imagination in and of Namibia' (p. 257). The author derives his understanding of this paternalism from Herero kinship studies, although only slightly more than half of Opuwo's population speaks Otjiherero as its first language. Moreover, many Herero men no longer ritually confirm their paternity and children grow up in female-headed households. In Kaokoland as a whole 35% of these people (with double unilineal descent) derive their patrilineal affiliation from their maternal grandfather; in Opuwo and among young people this percentage is even higher. Although this issue is highlighted, its implications 'for diverging forms of authority and anti-authority' are hardly explored.

The interaction between representatives of the state and Kaokoland people is investigated by comparing the official magistrate court with the workings of a community court. Although these courts are based on quite different principles, in actual practice their officials adapt their proceedings selectively to each other and complainants carefully weigh their respective advantages and drawbacks. Another issue in which the relationship between Kaokoland people and the state comes to the fore is 'traditional' chieftainship. One of the tenets of apartheid was that Africans belonged to tribes that should be ruled through chiefs, who ideally were the legitimate successors of pre-colonial authorities. Nowadays the only role of the Council of Traditional Leaders is to serve as an advisory body to the President. However, the government rightly believes that

chiefs can influence the voting behaviour of their followers. Hence it supports them quite generously and as a consequence being a chief is a desirable position. In Kaokoland this has resulted in factional struggles (also endemic in colonial times) and in contemporary attempts to redefine ethnic boundaries and invent spurious pedigrees.

Although these empirical chapters are skilfully written, one wonders how such topics relate to other nation-wide structures and processes that affect the life of Kaokoland people. What is, for instance, the role of Christianity, to which 80% of Namibians adhere? In Kaokoland more than ten churches and missionary organisations are active, and in his discussion of politics Friedman quotes an informant saying: 'When I got a job, I was just praying through the church, not through politics. Politics could never help me. [. . .] Churches don't fight amongst themselves like political parties' (p. 224). For Friedman such questions seem to be less important than his idea that his thick description of state–subject interaction depends on an underlying 'discursive formation'. Apparently he has found certain ideas of Foucault, especially his power–knowledge equation, useful for engaging in debates about the relation (modern) state–(traditional) society in post-colonial Africa. However cleverly this has been done, he does not consider how such theoretically relevant knowledge could result in moral awareness that would enhance public responsibility. As Friedman was actively engaged in nation-building programmes in Namibia before he turned anthropologist, one is left with the feeling of a missed opportunity in this respect.

JAN DE WOLF
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Gottlieb, Alma (ed.) 2012. *The restless anthropologist. New fieldsites, new visions*. Chicago: Chicago University Press. 208 pp. Pb.: $22.50. ISBN 978-0-226-30490-8.

The Restless Anthropologist is a collection of autobiographical essays on the experience of doing anthropology in more than one field location. Edited by Alma Gottlieb, the book sets out to explore what 'switching fieldsites' means for a scholar in a discipline that values in-depth knowledge and profound immersion in the lives of a locality. But what begins with the question of 'Should I stay or should I go?' goes beyond the individual decisions implicated in changing the place of one's fieldwork and moving on to a new site or community to study. The book takes the reader into the wider territory of changing ethnographic practice, as it explores the topography of fieldwork under the conditions of transnational entanglements, mobile research subjects and global urbanism.

Global ethnography has become a standard for contemporary anthropologists. To understand the complexity of a globalised world, the need for comparative fieldwork or multi-sited methodologies has become imperative, as have new approaches to study the mobile emplacement of labour migrants, elite expatriates or diasporic communities. Scholars are aware of the need to employ a different set of qualitative research tools to gain intimate access to busy, privileged and well-educated research subjects in the new urban centres of middle-class affluence or in the powerful institutions of global governance. While most cultural-studies disciplines have embraced the value of a 'global' methodology, this has posed particular challenges to anthropologists who need to engage directly with people, emotions, movements and places. Scholars, especially younger ones, find themselves trying to make sense of the changing nature of fieldwork, which they study in theory but remains difficult in practice, imposing a whole new spectrum of personal and professional demands they need to juggle and reconcile.

The book broaches this theme from the perspective of a more established generation of scholars, most of whom began their careers – and their fieldwork – before the 'post-modern turn' in anthropology became accepted theory and expected scholarly

practice. In seven chapters, the contributors remember the decisions and doubts that informed their fieldwork as they moved between rural and urban settings, between 'exotic' locations and 'familiar' sites in their own neighbourhoods; and between 'real' fields and transient, or even virtual research subjects. The authors look back at the often unexpected turns and twists of their academic trajectories, with the experience of fieldwork central not only to their research but also deeply intertwined with the circumstances of their own lives, recognising 'that we engage our ethnographic consultants at particular junctures in their, and our, histories' (p. 70), as Maria Lepowsky puts it in her chapter.

Gottlieb states that the book is designed to be more than merely a collection of autobiographical stories, aiming towards the genre of a *Bildungsroman* combined with the style of classical field diary. While the narration is indeed captivating, engaging, honest and well written, it cannot entirely avoid the character of individual mini-memoirs. However, the self-reflective, personal tone of the essays effectively foregrounds the importance of biographical serendipity, affect and emotional capital in guiding study interests and fieldwork choices – something that is often invisible amid the imperative for methodological research and strategic career planning. The contributors powerfully show how childhood memories, love, family or friendships can inspire the fieldwork experience, as much as they can in a long-term engagement with a particular field. As Gottlieb notes in the introduction, it is telling of the gendered nature of the discipline that only the female authors mention family commitments as a significant aspect directing the geographic boundaries of their research.

Readers will appreciate the various insights into the conceptual issues of doing global anthropology. Although many of the issues raised remain anecdotal and may have benefitted from a more systematic treatment across the book, each essay deals with the challenge of incorporating diverse field sites into a coherent framework of ethnographic analysis. For the authors' generation, this challenge was still brought about by an actual shifting of site and topic rather than today's more common variant of a comparative or 'transcultural' perspective already implicit in the subject matter itself. However, even for them, this experience entailed not only leaving one place and moving on to a new one. Instead, their initial fieldwork would serve as an important starting point for gaining social –as well intellectual – access to the wider, transnational contact zones of global cultural flows, allowing for a critical engagement not only with global ethnography as a method in itself but also with the anthropologist's shifting position in the field.

TINA SCHILBACH
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Hodder, Ian (ed.) 2012. *Archaeological theory today*, 2nd edn. Cambridge: Polity Press. ix + 347 pp. Pb.: £18.99. ISBN 978 0 7456 5307-5.

The second edition of *Archaeological Theory Today* has been updated and revised, with the addition of several new chapters. Taken together, the contributions of 14 scholars make this volume a crucial addition to contemporary debates in social sciences. I mention 'social sciences' intentionally, as this book exceeds the boundaries of a single discipline. Furthermore, taking into account that there are several very good introductions in archaeology, and that this is a second edition of the book originally published not very long ago (in 2001), the editor, Ian Hodder, Professor in the Department of Anthropology at Stanford University, the contributors and the publisher, had a considerable task in front of them. To say that they handled it very well would be an understatement.

Since its foundation in the Middle Ages, with the works of the Ancona native, Chiriacco de Pizzicolli (1391–1452), and his enthusiastic descriptions of the antiquities of Italy, Dalmatia, Greece and Egypt, archaeology has contributed to the creation and

maintenance of specific social, cultural and historical identities. With its establishment as a scholarly discipline and distancing itself from 'antiquarianism', the need also arose for establishing a firmer theoretical and methodological basis. The period of great discoveries, from the mid-19th century, went hand-in-hand with several shifts in theoretical paradigms. From the early 1960s, these new paradigms culminated in, first, 'processual' and, a couple of decades later, then 'post-processual' archaeology, with the editor of this book being one of its main (and most influential) representatives. With the advancement of new technologies and the way in which these new technologies have been incorporated into archaeological research in the last several decades, archaeology has been contributing to the ways in which shifting identities are shaped in the first decades of the 21st century.

The present volume has 13 chapters, plus the introduction by Hodder, who sets up the frame for interpreting different contributions. Compared with the first edition, there are two chapters less and six contributors missing; but there are some new ones, with contributions on Darwinian cultural evolution (by Shennan), behavioural ecology (by Bird and O'Connell), complex systems (Kohler), materiality (Knappett), symmetrical archaeology (by Olsen), and indigenous collaboration (Colwell-Chanthaphonh). LaMotta (writing on behavioural archaeology), Renfrew (on materiality and early development of society), Barrett (agency), Thomas (place and landscape), Meskell (on heritage), Gosden (on post-colonial archaeology) and Moser (on visualisation and the birth of archaeological image) have re-written and revised their previous contributions, in various degrees. The chapters form a coherent whole, and they also communicate well with each other. There are also specific case studies. For example, Bird and O'Connell discuss the meaning of different symbolic values attributed to kangaroo hunting and spearfishing (p. 50ff.), which leads them to a specific conclusion regarding cost and benefit analysis applicable to human behavioural ecology (p. 54). LaMotta points to the importance of using life history models in archaeological research (p. 70ff.), while Kohler emphasises the role of cybernetics (p. 95), and also points to the crucial influence of David Clarke. Renfrew, in an almost encyclopaedic manner, presents an outline for a cognitive archaeology (p. 125). He also points to the interrelationship between value, measure, commodity and exchange (pp. 133–7), and the importance of symbols and rituals (pp. 138–9), conspicuously absent from early 'New Archaeology'. When discussing society, agency and structure, Barrett compares theories of Giddens and Bourdieu (p. 150), concluding that the 'Agency theory enabled archaeologists to move beyond grounding the motivations for people's actions upon the satisfaction of general systemic needs, with the consequent rendering of history as a process behind people's backs' (p. 163). In his contribution, Olsen advocates a 're-branding' of archaeology, using Latour's concept of 'symmetrical anthropology' (p. 210ff.).

These are only a few selected topics in a rich and valuable volume. The way different methodological issues are discussed, as well as the dialogue between different contributors (through their sometimes conflicting, but complementary approaches), can serve as an exemplary way of promoting scholarship of the highest standard, and both individual contributors and the volume editor deserve credit for this. In the years to come, the revised edition of *Archaeological Theory Today* will serve as an indispensable tool for debating topics and organising research far beyond the expanding limits of archaeology.

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Kitanaka, Junto. 2011. *Depression in Japan. Psychiatric cures for a society in distress*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press. 264 pp. Pb: $29.95. ISBN 9780691142050.

In this book, Junto Kitanaka, a Japanese anthropologist at Keio University, Tokyo, examines the social transformation of the field of mental

health in Japan. The volume is an outcome of her doctoral thesis, defended at McGill University in 2006, about the conditions and consequences of the medicalisation of depression in Japan.

During her fieldwork in psychiatric institutions between 1998 and 2010, Kitanaka observed a major event that marked that period: 'depression' became not only a new way to publicly express distress – a social category taken for granted – but also a 'national disease' or 'collective distress'. How did psychiatry, usually enclosed in acute mental illness and unpopular in this country, succeed to legitimately define what is mental health in life problems? How can a nosology achieve such great social success so quickly?

At first glance, the main catalyst of this shift is a political concern: in the medical-legal debate on suicides at the workplace during this period, Japanese psychiatrists had to establish responsibilities. Employees, mostly men, are legitimate victims: they committed suicide because of depression resulting from overwork and the Japanese culture of work. And yet these psychiatrists tend to advocate a biological explanation of depression. How to explain the inclusion of social factors in their biological explanation? Such is the puzzling anthropological conundrum formulated by Junto Kitanaka. Her observation of the cultural critique of social pathology represents an important theoretical track: in the social sciences literature biologisation is often seen as reductive. Even worse, medicalisation is perceived as a form of illegitimate redefinition and depoliticisation of social problems, obscuring inequalities and power relations. More broadly, medicalisation is now tied to globalisation and the power of pharmaceutical companies to shape medical cultures and public health across the globe. This remarkable case study is therefore a provocative counterexample of positive medicalisation as political weapon of liberation and way of exposing the Japanese culture and its discontents. This phenomenon is not unique; suffice to recall the emergence of social medicine in the 19th century or the case of PTSD in the USA.

How could biological psychiatry become a political agent of liberation? To answer this question, Kitanaka's cultural analysis – a kind of a 'stratigraphy' – aims at tracing what I would call a *cultural circuit of consecration* of depression as social category. In this, she identifies three important cultural strata between *utsusho* in premodern Japan and *karō utsubyō* in contemporary Japan. From a historical point of view the first sedimentation is today forgotten but remains a component of the modern category of depression even after the adoption of the German neuropsychiatric perspective, which located depression in individual brains. It is the idea of a personal problem or physiological and social distress.

The second sedimentation from an ethnographic point of view is the local clinician's role in persuading patients that they are victims of both biological and social forces lying beyond their control, in a psychiatric context where psychotherapy is seen as a taboo. From this point of view, Chapter 7 provides interesting cases where psychiatrists fail to persuade patients.

The third and last sedimentation, from a broader sociopolitical perspective, is the meeting of clinical knowledge with actual politics, thanks to the public debate on the aetiology of suicide at the workplace. By the end of this process, depression becomes an unintended social category.

In this inquiry the book happens to miss a political detail. Perhaps a fourth sedimentation from a moral anthropological point of view is the globalisation of public health discourse promoting a new humanism within the category of 'well being' and 'psychosocial risk management'. In this moral consensus, what looks like a positive *right* of health is in reality a new *duty*. The concern over the possible pathogenic environment and traumatism has never been greater than it is today, especially in Asia. The need for mental health, and in particular, of mental healthy workers is at the heart of the message conveyed by international health organisations on mental health (such as WHO) and the International Labour

Organization (ILO, ONU): the fight against distress, depression and suicide at the workplace is a priority for every national health policy in the 21st century. It would be interesting to learn more about the dynamic link between these unavoidable global trends and the local political level in Japan.

SAMUEL LÉZÉ
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Inhorn, Marcia Claire. 2012. *The new Arab man. Emergent masculinities, technologies and Islam in the Middle East*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 424 pp. Pb. £24.95. ISBN 978-0-69114889-2.

In this timely book on emergent masculinities in the Middle East in the context of assisted reproductive technology (ART), the author calls for a rethinking of Middle Eastern masculinities that aims to disrupt the persistent popular and scholarly stereotypes attributed to Arab men. Academics themselves are partly to blame for these images: Middle Eastern men remain a 'masculine black box' as virtually nothing is known about their sexual and gender identities (p. 71). Men in general are also absent from the literature on reproduction and the contemporary study of gender in anthropology.

Apart from her fieldwork in IVF clinics in the region, Inhorn uses an original methodology, which consists of a combination of epidemiological reproductive histories and anthropological life histories through interviews with 220 fertile and infertile Lebanese, Syrian and Palestinian men of different social and religious backgrounds. The notion of 'emergent masculinities' is central to her discussion. It highlights the 'novel and transformative and encapsulates change over the male life course as men age; change over the generations as male youth grow to adulthood; and change in social history that involve men in transformative social processes' (p. 60). The emphasis on embodiment and its relationship to technologies is crucial as the experiences of infertility and ART are 'quintessential examples of emergent masculinities as deeply embodied' (p. 62).

In the first part of the book, Inhorn explains how Middle Eastern masculinities emerge in complex interactions with the 'four notorious P's': patriarchy, patrilineality, patrilocality and polygyny. She demonstrates how infertility does not necessarily lead to a crisis in masculinity, and how Middle Eastern men find multiple ways to deal with their infertile bodies in relation to their manhood. Many men feel emasculated and engage in impression management and secrecy, because of a cultural linkage between virility and fertility. But as the medicalisation of male infertility is becoming more widespread, normalisation has occurred, leading to greater social acceptance and a decline in the stigma attached to this condition. Lastly, some infertile men configure a form of manhood that goes beyond fatherhood. The author finds that these men's marriages are often stronger than regular marriages and are characterised by love and an enduring conjugal commitment. Through 'consanguineous connectivity', they often rely on their blood ties or extended family members who provide emotional and financial support for the costly medical procedures (p. 152).

In the second part, Inhorn explores the Islamic and embodied side of these emergent Arab masculinities in the context of ART. The 'Islamic masculinities' of Arab men are emergent masculinities because they are 'technoscientifically and morally agentive within their local moral worlds' (p. 226). Biotechnology not only engenders changes in Arab masculinities, but has deep societal effects, as is evidenced by the different positions Shi'a and Sunni Muslims and clerics hold towards ART. In a first example on masturbation and semen collection, we learn that 'although masturbation may be viewed as *zina* in Islam, millions of Muslim men are masturbating out of medical necessity, and some are even embracing the idea of masturbation as a healthy, pleasurable, and guilt-free form of male sexuality' (p. 192).

Another example is the resistance towards social fatherhood. Both Sunni and Shi'a men are generally opposed to adoption/in-

home child fostering and egg/sperm/embryo donation, although for Shi'a such practices are religiously allowed. Their feelings towards such practices are complex, but they are rooted in locally embodied moral concepts: a blood relationship as the only basis for paternity, the importance of a 'purity of lineage' and donation as adultery (pp. 233, 236, 261). Egg donation is only religiously allowed for Shi'a Muslims – it is seen as less *haram* than sperm donation, as it does not interfere with patrilineal genealogy. Yet a small group of Sunni Muslims act as moral pioneers as they personally challenge religious orthodoxy when they rely on egg donation as a last resort, hereby creating emergent Islamic masculinities in the process.

Not only does this book provide scholars with innovative anthropological theoretical tools for the study of gender and masculinity in a field increasingly dominated by queer theoretical paradigms, it also offers a fascinating insight into the intersection of gender, religion and ART in the Middle East, setting an example for new research. Yet above all, *The New Arab Man* effortlessly succeeds in offering 'a more realistic and humanizing portrayal of Middle Eastern men's lives' (p. 300).

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Lindquist, Galina and Don Handelman (eds.) 2011. *Religion, politics & globalization. Anthropological approaches*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books. xv + 290 pp. Hb.: $85.00. ISBN 978-1-84545-771-6.

This collection contributes to rethinking the relationship between religion and politics in the context of globalisation. On finishing this book, I had learned much about the complex and shifting entwinement of politics and religion in different parts of the world, but less about globalisation or how anthropologists might study global connections. The volume also pays tribute to Galina Lindquist, who initiated this book project. On her request, Don Handelman has shepherded the book through to publication, turning the volume into a heartfelt commemoration of a colleague and friend. In his Memoir of Lindquist that opens the book, Michael Jackson portrays a scholar whose 'ability to dwell in the ambiguity of the ethnographic method reflected a personal disposition as well as an intellectual commitment to joining objective analysis to lived experience' (p. xvii).

In the prologue and introduction, the editors criticise the 'neglect in research of religion as the prime conveyor of values of holism (of whatever scale) in a world continuously fragmented and reworked through politics' (p. 19). Arguing that the roots of religion are values of holism, they insist that the human propensity toward holistic organisation is profound and cannot be reduced simplistically to historical processes, nor to particular social formations. Operating with a broad notion of holism, the focus is less on pursuing comparative analysis along the lines of Louis Dumont and more on tracing such values during long historical periods, be it in the cosmology of the Hua-yen school of Buddhism, ancient Hebrew monotheism, totalitarianism or modern forms of individualism. While the argumentation is bold and erudite, the repeated insistence that 'where values of holism are present … religion is close by' (p. 3) and vice versa, hovers on the edge of tautology.

Most chapters of the book were not, however, written with the problematic of holism in mind. Divided into four sections, the book has eight chapters and an Afterword by Robert Innis. In section one, 'Shaping religion through politics', Galina Lindquist probes the contest between Tibetan Buddhism and shamanism in post-Soviet Tyva (Southern Siberia), showing how a revived Buddhism has become established as a national religion. Henrik Berglund's discussion of Hindu nationalism highlights the modern origins of the *hindutva* ideology and the global constitution of the Hindu nationalist movement. Contestations between secular and religious authority are addressed in the two fine case studies in section

two, 'Open conflicts between religion and politics'. David Hicks discusses the church-led demonstration in Timor-Leste in 2005 after the state sought to curtail religious education in schools, arguing that the Catholic Church has emerged as an institution with the potential and will to challenge the secular government. Eva Evers Rosander provides an insightful analysis of the fate of the imam of Fuengirola in Spain, who in 2004 was sentenced to prison by a Spanish court for publishing a book with strong gender-discriminatory content. That the Egyptian-trained imam was released from jail on the condition that he takes a course on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Spanish constitution illustrates how law is administered as a vehicle for the transformation of individuals and society. If secular law here asserts its power to displace religion, it is indeed striking how the law's claim to the universal resembles the universalism that is claimed by religious traditions such as Islam and Christianity.

In section three, titled 'The tight embrace of religion and politics', Simon Coleman provides a compelling analysis of the relations between conservative evangelicalism and politics in America. To make sense of recurrences as well as transformations in evangelical Christianity over time, Coleman identifies three creative stances to the world – oscillation, parallelism and rebound. In an exemplary fashion, this chapter demonstrates the power of an anthropological approach to translate another worldview into terms that we can begin to understand. Pursuing a more conventional historical analysis, David Thurfjell discusses the development of Iranian Islamism as a particular version of modernity, one that is partly based on an ambiguous relation to 'the West'.

The chapters in the final section address how globalisation is 'Opening new space for religion'. Mira Amiras explores evangelical Christian proselytising in Amazigh (Berber) North Africa, showing how their recognition of the Tamazight language, long suppressed by Arabised regimes, is embraced by Amazigh activists calling for indigenous rights. Transnational forms of terror are analysed with acute insight in Don Handelman's chapter on 'self-exploders'. Stressing the ritual and sacrificial dimensions of today's human bombs, Handelman locates sacrifice within an economy of violence that in its contemporary manifestation has a rhizomic character. Billed as a collection of 'anthropological approaches' to religion, politics and globalisation, it is not always clear what is distinctly anthropological about it. This quibble however should not detract from the fact that the volume makes for a highly stimulating collection of essays.

KARI TELLE
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Navaro-Yashin, Yael. 2012. *The make-believe space: affective geography in a postwar polity*. Durham: Duke University Press. 296 pp. Pb.: $24.95. ISBN 978-0-8223-5204-4.

This book analyses the relations between things and people within what the author calls the 'make-believe state' of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. Drawing heavily on Lacanian psychoanalysis and Latour's Actor Network Theory (ANT), Navaro-Yashin uses her ethnography to propose alternative theories of sovereignty and politics as well as of subjectivity and its relation to materiality.

In Navaro-Yashin's perspective, the space of northern Cyprus is '*phantomic*' because the Turkish-Cypriots inhabit an 'uncanny' space filled with objects that discharge a melancholia for the lost past. The Greek-Cypriots who fled during the 1974 war have 'an enduring affective presence' that is embodied by the material objects they left behind (p. 14). Houses, land, personal belongings and even waste are claimed to carry an effect that can be studied 'in all social, political, legal and economic transactions' (p. 14). These objects exert *affective forces* through becoming entangled in concrete social practices. This phantomic space stands in tension with what she terms a 'phantasmatic' or 'make-believe space' constructed by bureaucratic state practices designed to gloss over the mixed past in order

to constitute a Turkish sovereignty and community. For Navaro-Yashin, this phantasmatic space is analysed as producing affect through *material* objects. However, she somewhat simplistically associates these materialised imaginary spaces with right–left politics, where the phantomic is inhabited by the left-wing, while the phantasmatic is constructed by the administration and supported by the right wing.

The three parts of the book map out how this tension between the two spaces is seen as running through society: in the political domestication of the new territory through property allocation and mapping, in various bureaucratic practices and in the subjective experiences of inhabiting space through materialities like houses, personal belongings and documents. Objects and spatial 'environments or atmospheres' produce affects in persons, and even legal and political structures are envisioned as producing the home, making it a legal and political institution. The middle class' abandonment of Nicosia's city centre for modern, clean suburbs is also read as being produced by the haunted 'uncanniness' of the old city space rather than by more general socio-economic urban processes.

Navaro-Yashin's main aim is to relocate the analysis of political sovereignty into the field of materiality and affect. She moves away from seeing political agency as solely human – 'as the will of the sovereign' (p. 42) – and interprets her ethnography as showing that the relation between humans and the materiality of surrounding spaces is what constitutes political sovereignty: 'This practiced network between humans and instruments is what makes sovereignty' (p. 43). Here Navaro-Yashin seems to take an intermediate position within the ANT materiality debate, arguing that things are socially constituted while also insisting that their materiality has affective potency irreducible to social constructs. She claims that 'there is no construct that runs ahead of material realisation. Rather, the fantasy [imaginative] element is in the materiality itself, or the fantasy and the object are one and the same entity' (p. 15). This claim is vague to me, and it leaves out the historically and socially constituted reading positions of subjects. This approach to sovereignty and subjectivity through material practices and objects claims to be a development of Foucauldian approaches to technology and instrument effects. However, the discussion lacks Foucault's focus on the historical development of technologies of power.

I also have two methodological reservations. First, an analysis that rests on 'sensing', 'uncanny atmospheres' and 'discharges of energy' runs the risk of becoming an exercise in psychoanalytic interpretation with abstract psycho-somatic affective bodies detached from subjects, bodies and social processes on the ground.

Second, the heavy dependence on public rhetorical statements throughout the book is paradoxically at odds with the author's strong desire to move *beyond* representation. Too many of these statements are taken at face value, without being contextualised within the social and historical dynamics where they do certain kinds of ideological work. Indeed, in naively treating the contents as reality, the book risks conflating the ideological and the social.

The author often treats the phantomic space of Greek-Cypriots as affecting a pure memory untainted by representations, while the phantasmatic space of the Turkish state rests on ideological representations. This bifurcation of state and subjectivities fits into a broader view that treats society as consisting simply of the state and subjectivities. Are subjectivities shaped *only* by relations to the state and the material remains of the Greek-Cypriots? Are there no other social or representational levels mediating between them?

Many of the social practices described as exceptional symptoms of the ghostly affects, such as class-based residential segregation and 'excessive' house cleaning, do not differ from practices in Turkey or in houses not formerly Greek-owned, and this points to a problem of interpretation. The biggest paradox of this vigorously anti-essentialist approach – explicitly debunking concepts like 'ethnicity' and 'nationalism' – is the way it

homogenises and essentialises society through repeated references to the generalised thoughts, opinions or experiences of 'Turkish Cypriots'. The approach of the book is emblematic of a contemporary style of anthropological writing that often uses 'imaginative metaphors' drawn from recent ANT and psychoanalytical theories as a substitute materiality for that offered by more detailed social and cultural analysis.

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Pedersen, Morten Axel. 2011. *Not quite shamans. Spirit worlds and political lives in northern Mongolia*. Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press. 250 pp. Pb.: $28.95. ISBN 978-0-8014-7620-4.

What would shamanism look like if it were to exist, and be performed, *without shamans*? This is the challenging question Morten Axel Pedersen sets out to explore in his innovative study of shamanism in northern Mongolia (Ulaan-Uul, Shishged depression) in the latter half of the 1990s. Although the Darhad (the name of the local ethnic group) remember there used to be powerful shamans before, the establishment of a Buddhist estate in the 18th century, followed by a severe antireligious repression during the years of Soviet-style state socialism, left the region devoid of any reliable specialist. The few individuals who timidly tried to step up as shamans in the beginning of the 1990s after the end of the socialist regime were not taken seriously by the population, who would rather travel for several hours to neighbouring regions to consult those who subsisted there.

This is not to say, however, that Darhad people living in Ulaan-Uul were spared from the disturbing influence of spirits; quite the contrary. As a result of the 'ontological meltdown' (p. 8) caused by the fall of the Socialist regime and the demise of the ordering principle, its state-driven economy, its authoritarian cultural policy, its exclusive cosmology, had imposed on people's lives, restless spirits have been unleashed. The havoc experienced with the fall of Socialist institutions, and with the advent of the 'age of the market' (*zah zeeliin üye*), is associated with, or at least not separated from, the cosmological chaos caused by the release of spirits held for many years in the margins of a world organised according to Marxist-Leninist ideology. Now, the problem for Darhad people is precisely that while clearly 'too many spirits are on the loose', there is 'too little shamanic knowledge and skill' (p. 8) around to deal with it.

The main consequence of this unbalance, according to the local population, is an outbreak of *agsan* crises among the (mostly male) population during these years. *Agsan* people, in a way reminiscent of Malay *amok* people, are subject to an uncontrollable drunken rage, which induces them to bring down everyone and everything around them. This state, in which they are believed to 'go in and out of consciousness' (p. 1), is believed to be incurred by individuals who have a shamanic 'essence' (*udha*), i.e. ascendency, while there are no qualified supervisors around to help them answer their calling. As a result, they are kept in a state of perpetual becoming, almost shamans, but *not quite* (hence the title of the book), subjected to the spirits' unsettling influences, while unable to control them for lack of acquired knowledge and skill. After a substantial introduction, which exposes the general topic and the theoretical bearings of the book, five chapters provide different perspectives on the 'shamanic predicament' (p. 81) of Darhad people in the 'age of the market'.

Chapter 1 presents several case studies that illustrate the cosmological dimension of postsocialist transition in Ulaan-Uul. A power cut that sparks *agsan*-induced violence, and a chaotic schoolteacher strike bring people to fully realise that the state cannot be imagined as a stable thing anymore: on the contrary, the postsocialist state increasingly resembles the shamanic spirits themselves, inasmuch as it assumes similar labile and unpredictable forms. Transgressive political figures are shown to navigate through the multifarious forms taken by

the state: controversial business tycoons, or local strong men who may successfully contradict local hierarchies and 'custom' to their own profit.

Chapter 2 focuses on the case of one particular 'half shaman': a blacksmith of ill-repute called Gombodorj, infamous for his unsettling jokes and his crises of *agsan*. Pedersen shows how Gombodorj's 'genealogy of difference' (p. 98) might have destined him to a shamanic career, which he was nevertheless unable to pursue for lack of informed supervision. Gombodorj thus illustrates the predicament of a 'lost generation' (p. 108) condemned to suffer the far-reaching consequences of religious repression.

Chapter 3 indeed shows that having to deal with a 'shamanic' influence is not reserved to such individuals as Gombodorj, even if they illustrate this condition most strikingly. It is a general idea throughout Mongolia that the Darhad are a 'shamanic' people, prone to joking and cursing inattentive visitors. Darhad people themselves assume they have a 'black', i.e. 'shamanic' side that needs to be kept at bay by their opposite 'yellow', Buddhist side.

Chapter 4 makes a small detour through the practice of shamanism *with* shamans, as it could be observed in neighbouring regions at that time. Contrary to Gombodorj and other *agsan*-prone individuals, fully-fledged shamans can 'switch their connection (*holboo*) to the spirits on and off' (p. 149). They do so thanks to the skills they have been initiated to, but most of all thanks to the 'magical properties of their gowns' (p. 149): whereas it becomes a surface of communication with spirits when donned, it conversely enables the shaman to switch off their connection to them when taken off. This ability to have 'two bodies' (p. 149), and thus to operate a strict distinction between a connected (or black) and a disconnected (or yellow) state, is precisely what half shamans lack: always potentially connected to spirits, they are unpredictable and make for a dangerous, uncontrolled channel to perilous influences.

Chapter 5, finally, explores the interweaving of shamanism and joking, two skills the Darhad are known and feared for throughout Mongolia. Not only is shamanism riddled with joking, as rituals often feature 'gossip spirits' who like nothing more than to make cruel fun of the audience, but specialists also tend to convey their knowledge in a joking manner only. The infinitely regressive form taken by the specialists' 'lies' seems to mirror the labile quality of the 'black' side in Darhad personhoods.

Therefore, the crumbling state in the dawn of the age of the market, individuals stuck in the process of becoming shamans, crises of senseless drunken rage, joking, all these take the *impossible form* under which spirits also manifest themselves. Isomorphism (of impossible form), Pedersen concludes, characterises the ontological condition of postsocialism in northern Mongolia.

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Reed, Adam. 2011. *Literature and agency in English fiction reading: a study of the Henry Williamson Society*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. xi + 212 pp. Pb.: £65. ISBN 9780719084546.

Adam Reed's *Literature and Agency in English Fiction Reading* is an ethnography of the Henry Williamson Society, a literary society established in England in 1980 by readers united by their interest in the oeuvre and life of the British fiction writer Henry Williamson (1895–1977). Reed bases his theoretical framework primarily on Alfred Gell's programmatic argument made in his *Art and Agency* (1998) for what anthropology of art ought to be, namely the study of artefacts inasmuch as they mediate and articulate social relationships as evidenced in the ways in which the people who engage with such artefacts attribute to them agency, intention, causation and transformation. This theoretical agenda, sensitive to 'the ways in which artifacts can assume the characteristics of actors or persons' and to

'the practice and outcomes of specific acts of attribution' of agency to artefacts (p. 26), allows Reed to avoid abstract theorisations of the nature of creativity and aesthetics, as well as text-internal analysis, and instead to unpack the various manifestations of a key claim made by Williamson's readers, namely that they are 'colonized by the mind of the writer' (p. 26). The various chapters of the book explore the various forms in which this 'colonisation' takes place, as well as its implications.

Chapters 1 and 2 focus on 'books'. For the readers Reed worked with, Williamson's books are an extension of his essence, intelligence and mental states. As such, these books function as genuine companions that animate the private sphere of the home in which the act of reading often takes place. What distinguishes the books from other household objects owned by readers is that 'books are owned by readers but possessed by Henry' (p. 46) and it is through books that, in moments of enraptured reading, Williamson comes to possess the minds of his readers. The view of Williamson as an intelligence externalised into different books also motivates readers to collect his books in an attempt 'to put the mental states back together again' (p. 77).

Chapters 3 and 4 explore Williamson's extended agency and its impact on his readers through the trope of 'land'. For many of Williamson's readers, reading his fiction is 'a radical encounter ... with the landscape described in the novels' (p. 89). Reed traces a complex matrix of agencies that involves stories, their settings, Williamson and his readers. Readers suggest that the rural landscape and the natural world were the sources of Williamson's creativity and inspiration. At the same time, they argue that Williamson's creativity enabled him to capture the essence of the landscape and to inhabit the perspectives of non-human living things and thus to masterfully mediate them for his readers. This mediation often leads readers to embark on pilgrimage and visit the locations in person so as to 'commune' with Williamson, as it were, and even to make life-altering decisions such as to relocate to the countryside. Chapters 5 and 6 analyse the impact of Williamson's agency on his readers through the theme of 'past'. Williamson's readers find themselves captivated by his memories and depiction of past eras and events, which they are driven to explore by themselves as a way of further inhabiting Williamson's memories. For example, following Williamson's depiction of his experience of trench comradeship during the First World War, some readers visit historic battlefields. For other readers, Williamson 'can externalize and animate the thoughts and emotions of dead kin' (p. 171), as well as provide them with the tools to reflect upon their life-course and identify the patterns that animate it.

Reed's book is at its strongest when he contextualises in existing ethnographies of British society that highlight culturally-specific notions of kinship, exchange, temporality and literacy, the different flows of agencies at work among Williamson's readers, and when he uses this contextualised matrix of agencies to challenge prevalent theories of literary cultures and literacy practices such as studies that highlight the reader as the sole locus of meaning-making or that focus on the features of the literary text in abstraction from its social context. Through Reed's sensitive analysis, fiction reading among the Henry Williamson Society members becomes a site in which a number of key social and cultural features of the English white middle class are fleshed out.

Because the book relies so heavily on Gell, it would have been helpful had Reed addressed the numerous criticisms that have been mounted against Gell's theory of art as agency (cf. Morphy 2009). This would have allowed him not only to further clarify the analytic categories he borrows from Gell *tout court*, such as agency, index and prototype, but also to articulate where he departs from Gell, for example, in his sensitivity to the crucial role played by culture and conventions in making indexes (and icons) efficacious as tools

of social action. Furthermore, Reed's attention to agentive causation, which he borrows from Gell, would have been sharpened had he discussed Peirce's semiotics, which is the basis of Gell's notion of the abduction of agency through art-objects. Peirce's semiotics has been widely used in contemporary anthropological studies of the semiotic mediation of agency with reference to states of possession, modern theories of intentionality, the material artefactuality of books, temporality, register and more (cf. Keane 2007) – phenomena that are highly relevant to a number of the book's key concerns. Lastly, most of Reed's data were gathered from interviews he conducted with Society members. The limitations of this retrospective knowledge are by now well known, yet they are more problematic in a book that intends to be attuned to art as 'a system of action, a matter of doing rather than signification' (p. 24). Despite these drawbacks, *Literature and Agency* is a thought-provoking ethnography that will be of interest to anthropologists focusing on art, creativity, the mediation of agency in the context of literacy practices and British society.

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Rubchak, Marian J. (eds.) 2011. *Mapping difference. The many faces of women in contemporary Ukraine*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn. 240 pp. Hb.: $75.00/£45.00. ISBN 978-0-85745-118-7.

Marian Rubchak's edited volume provides a much-awaited cross-disciplinary debate on issues of gender, gender politics, feminism and women's social mobility in post-soviet Ukraine. It poses questions otherwise hardly articulated for contemporary Ukraine, i.e. why did democratisation and liberalisation of a formerly totalitarian state result in unprecedented curtailing of gender equality; what is the relationship of feminism to nationalism; and how do women of contemporary Ukraine claim subjectivity, exert agency and 'carve out a measure of social, economic, and political space, constrained in large measure by their own essentialist prejudices' (p. 6)?

Three major themes run as a thread throughout the volume: the post-socialist gender legacy, feminism and nationalism. The chapters can be grouped around three categories: the first presents a wealth of women's personal histories through oral narratives and in-depth interviews (Solari, Hrycak, Kis', Phillips, Taran); the second explores manifestations of gendered hierarchies and women's strategies in a variety of spheres such as migration (Solari, Hrycak), education (Haydenko), language use (Bilaniuk) and journalism (Tytarenko), and the third is a critical discussion of the notion of feminism (or rather its possibility) in the post-soviet Ukrainian context (Rubchak, Rewakowicz, Zhurzhenko).

Despite the diversity of their foci, all contributions alert the reader to the considerable loss of women's ground in public positions and paid employment since 1991. The Soviet ideal of a woman-worker was replaced by the neotraditionalist mythological figure of Berehynia (Rubchak, Solari, Hrycak, Haydenko) 'representing a nurturing woman, guardian of non-symbolic domestic hearth and embodiment of moral principles', whose task is 'to help men in the realization of their ideal of national sovereignty' (p. 112). The debate takes a fascinating turn as most authors note that women eagerly embrace the traditional model of separate spheres – 'all too comfortable with this accommodation, they simply collude in their own subordination' (p. 3). Ukrainian nationalism thus constitutes a powerful mechanism that generates solid gender-specific roles, replacing 'woman' with

'mother' and 'mother' with 'Ukraine' (p. 114), representing 'all maternal functions as natural women's duties' (pp. 112–13) and ignoring the diversity of women's experiences. The powerful grip that this state-building discourse has on women's imagination effectively alienates many from feminist ideologies and language, leaving most heroines of the volume – even those who challenge gender inequalities through social activism and politics – to pronounce themselves as 'nonfeminists'.

Regrettably many authors remain uncritical of these hegemonic discourses presenting the nationalist ideology of today's Ukraine as progressive, and the demise of women's rights merely as a consequence of a still lingering Soviet heritage (Rubchak, Kys', Tytarenko). One example is Tytarenko's chapter on Ukrainian journalism, in which the author admits that women suffer prejudicial treatment and second-class status in virtually every sphere of public engagement, and yet her chapter 'will remain focused on the positive achievements of Ukrainian female journalists' (p. 148). Zhurzhenko's account of a number of gender programmes in Ukraine is more critical, stating that 'all schools of feminism in Ukraine, regardless of whether they maintain a critical distance from nationalism or are actively involved in the national revival, have to define their attitude towards nation building and their position to nationalism' (p. 174).

The main criticism of the volume, however, is its failure to address the ever-increasing disparity between women in Ukraine. With a few notable exceptions (Phillips, Solari and Kis'), most contributions that aim to illustrate women's successful rise to visible influential positions often fail to recognise their initially privileged position and the rapidly widening gap in Ukrainian society that breaks women's solidarities. While Rubchak raises this question in the introduction by quoting Ukrainian ex-Prime Minister Tymoshenko on the dangers of being 'reduced to an auxiliary of some male-dominated party and its program' (p. 19), the issue hardly surfaces later in the volume. Thus, Tytarenko, for example, acknowledges the problem when asking why female journalists do not promote issues of gender equality and the elimination of negative stereotyping, but stops short of answering it (p. 148).

Despite the assumed conformity of women, each chapter speaks volumes of everyday practiced resistance, be it migrant women abandoning their local domestic roles in order to earn money in foreign households (Solari, Hrycak), an aging Jewish activist defying shifting forms of oppression through her biography (Phillips), or a 'tiny minority of feminists' (p. 193) varying from FEMEN who shocked the world with their bare-breasted protests, to established scholars who initiated gender studies programmes throughout Ukraine (Taran, Zhurzhenko, Rewackowicz). Notably the authors resist the temptation to proclaim these varied strategies proof of an actually existing feminism, offering instead a multi-voiced and rich narrative of the transformation of women's position in post-Soviet Ukraine.

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Slobodian, Quinn. 2012. *Foreign front – third world politics in sixties Germany*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. 304 pp. Pb.: £16.99. ISBN 978-0-8223-5170-9.

This impressive and timely microhistory traces the roots of 1960s and 1970s West German radicalism back to the encounter between a generation of student activists with a cohort of Third World students who came to the Federal Republic early in the 1960s. Slobodian challenges the common assumption that the consciousness and the tactics of the *Achtundsechziger* were variations on an international theme learned from external exemplars such as the Berkeley Free Speech Movement. He argues that the West German model of youth revolt displayed a particular orientation towards Third World experience and praxis, from its developing phase, through the early and mid-1960s, into its awful maturity in the 1970s. Personal connections to foreign students and intellectuals

were key catalysts. It was not abstract analysis of the world situation that first led the German New Left to Third World activism and awareness, but the experience of being pushed into action by fellow Third World students and intellectuals.

Key radicalising events are outlined, including the protests following the murder of Patrice Lumumba in 1961, and against Moise Tchombe's visit in 1964, and, very particularly, the police killing of student Benno Ohnesorg during a Berlin demonstration against the Shah of Iran's visit in 1967. These joint experiences provided moments of collaboration with Third World students that helped furnish German radicals with a sense of connection to distant sites of actual and potential revolution. The willingness of foreign students to transgress the rules of protest was, in Slobodian's view, an inspiring example of militancy that was necessary to break the 'managed consciousness' of West German bourgeois society.

The protests that developed in their wake saw the creation of a style of burgeoning revolt that aligned with what in German is called a *Gesinnungspolitik*, or a politics of emotion and morality, rather than a politics of rational argument. Focusing on moral polemic and the performative, they pioneered the forms of activism that would follow in the late 1960s and after. This coincided with the radicals' increasing desire to partake in and co-opt the tactics and imaginary of the Chinese Cultural Revolution with its focus on youth, its perceived licence for 'hooliganism', and its opportunities for the politics of play and spectacle. A foreboding of the descent into the narcissism and the nihilist violence of the 1970s begins to emerge. Looking back, Jürgen Habermas sees the left-wing terrorism of that decade as resulting in part from a destructive symbiosis with mainstream media that demanded ever more radical acts to keep the attention of consumers.

Slobodian foregrounds key personalities. Rudi Dutschke, the ubiquitous leader of student protest, influenced by Marcuse, saw revolutionary potential in Third World liberation movements and marginalised groups (*Randgruppen*) who represented 'the living negation of the system' (p. 58). Ulrike Meinhof, wife of the publisher of *Konkret*, the house journal of student protest, and its star columnist, soon to be a figure of worldwide notoriety, wrote that police brutality had forged the 'realization that West German capital and the Iranian terror regime are closely aligned' (p. 127). Habermas was a voice of honest scepticism and restraint, especially conscious of the spectre of German 20th-century history. He located the flaw in the New Left in its misconceived relationship to the Third World, warning strongly that 'identification, produced at an emotional level' (p. 9) – with the role of the Vietcong, etc. – had no value as a political position. Then there is the mischievous, talismanic figure of Marcuse himself. Asked to condemn the radicalism of the increasingly extreme Berlin faction within the student movement as 'an infantile disorder of communism', he instead praised their 'instinctive spontaneous solidarity of sentiment' (p. 97) with the Third World.

Slobodian's approach to material of considerable richness is historically focused and eschews explicit theorising. His vivid description of the resort of the Federal government, anxious to contain foreign student activism, to a police order, the *Ausländer-Polizeiverordnung* (effectively a state of exception dating back to Nazi times), which circumvented the rights granted by the Basic Law (*Grundgesetz*) to foreign subjects, cries out in its confirmation of Foucault's observation that the 'violence done to the law obeys the protection of the principle of order' (Foucault 2002: 437). His analysis of the anti-authoritarian faction particular to Berlin might benefit from some of the depth that an ethnographic approach allows. Borneman (1992: 236–83) has illuminated the actual processes of kinship formation that developed the *Halbstarken* of the 1950s into the Berlin radicals of 1968 through the acquisition of what Adorno and Horkheimer call *Ideologiekritik*. Notwithstanding these minor shortcomings, this is a work of significant scholarship that

moves a powerful and necessary discourse forward.

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Toren, Christina and João de Pina-Cabral (eds.) 2011. *The challenge of epistemology. Anthropological perspectives*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books. 228 pp. Pb.: $32.00. ISBN 978-0-85745-435-5.

Epistemology, how we know what (we think) we know, has become the prime concern of cultural criticism ever since the postmodern onslaught demolished the cosy certainties of a hegemonic approach to knowledge that we are now called upon to recognise as rather despicably Eurocentric. Anthropology has been no stranger to challenges of its epistemological framework, and for much longer than the postmodernists may realise. In that sense, the engagement with such challenges is not new to anthropology (unlike, perhaps, some other humanities or social sciences), but has indeed become 'part and parcel' of what anthropologists tend to do. As the editors note 'anthropology ... is the only human science whose methods themselves engage the researcher directly in epistemological issues' (p. 4). In the same sense, one could argue that the epistemological debate goes so deeply to the core of anthropological theory and method that it may well be considered a 'grand debate' – whatever we think about the frequently postulated demise of metanarratives. Within that grand debate, the collection of essays by Toren and Pina-Cabral offers a significant contribution and step forward, tackling many key issues, from the cross-disciplinary use of analytical categories to the limits of ethnographic analysis. It provides an in-depth discussion of these issues, illustrated with ample ethnographic case studies, while offering a comprehensive overview of the state-of-the-art of this debate.

Following a substantive agenda-setting introduction by the editors, Peter Gow reflects on an apparently simple question he was asked in the field, recounting the deep exploration of his own memory of what one might call the past before his past, and making a powerful case for ethnography as the only epistemology anthropologists need. Jadram Mimica follows with a phenomenologically grounded account of the Yagwoia life-world that combines ethnography and psychoanalysis.

One of the fundamental eurocentrisms that critics of eurocentrism are often guilty of is to see modernity as a European/Western phenomenon. Filipe Carreira da Silva and Mónica Brito Vieira question that assumption, postulating a perspective acknowledging plural modernities. Martin Holbraad, by contrast, argues that anthropology's central concern with 'alterity' means that we ought to focus on ontology – what is – rather than epistemology, and that, in order to account for cultural differences in ontology, we need a different concept of truth as 'inventive definition'. The importance of including the relationship between researcher and researched in our understanding of another culture is emphasised by Tony Crook, while Marcio Goldman argues that epistemology and ontology should be regarded as co-equal. Much in agreement with his analysis, Toren postulates ontogeny as a historical process, leading to a perspective that generates the understanding not only of others, but also of ourselves.

Susana de Matos Viegas brings together intersubjective ethnographic analysis with more abstract comparison to make the important point that generalisations neither require nor even imply anything like universals or uniformity. In a similar vein, Pina-Cabral notes that scientific thought is always connected with political economy, and while he insists that ethnography always presupposes to some extent a degree of realism, this

is emphatically not a positivist conclusion. Rather, he argues for a holistic engagement with the human condition as the proper anthropological pursuit, rejecting positivism as well as the fashionable overemphasis on discourse. Andre Gingrich, a longtime champion of comparative research, proposes a comparative anthropology of epistemologies, calling for greater use of what he calls 'meso-evidence', a notion reminiscent of Wiegelmann's 'medium-range' theories in European ethnology. Recognition of such evidence allows us to better understand the human condition in its individual specificity. Yoshinobu Ota emphasises the inseparability and mutual dependence of reality and consciousness, to the point where one must question what reality may or may not be. In the final contribution, Henrietta Moore raises ethical issues arising out of the changing relations between researchers and researched.

While the editors emphasise that their contributors are not always in agreement, there is a notable coherence to this volume, reflecting the evidently thorough preparation during two seminars. This reviewer found much food for thought here, especially in Gow's fascinating multi-dimensional autoethnography, prompted by a question arising from an indigenous epistemology. Such critical ethnography of the onto-epistemological foundations of our multiple *personal* pasts offers, at the same time, a window on the human condition.

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Zigon, Jarrett (ed.) 2011. *Multiple moralities and religions in post-Soviet Russia*. New York: Berghahn Books. 238 pp. Hb.: $70.00. ISBN 978-0-85745-209-2.

In this book the authors employ the lens of morality to address changes in contemporary Russian society, with particular focus on the religious sphere. In the first of two introductory chapters, Zigon sets up a theoretical framework for the anthropological study of moralities and religion. He looks at religion as just one of the many parts in the assemblage of what he terms 'local moral constellation' that is constitutive of many Soviet, secular and Western moralities. Building on his earlier theorising of the anthropology of morality, Zigon identifies three aspects of morality – institutional, public discourse and embodied dispositions – and suggests that ethics should be conceptually distinguished from them. He views ethics as a creative moment of reflective and reflexive work to be done by individuals or groups in the situation of 'moral breakdown' when any or all of the aspects of morality are questioned and negotiated. The proposed anthropological theory of morality accounts for complexity and diversity of moralities at the intersection of institutional, public and personal lives in Russian society.

In the second introductory chapter, Agadjanian explores Russian religiosity as a source of morality, and suggests studying moral traditions, both secular and religious, in terms of breaks and continuities within the three main historical periods – pre-revolutionary, Soviet and post-Soviet. The theme of (dis)continuities and compatibilities of moral values of different periods in Russian history runs through many chapters in this volume.

Part II of the book, titled Multiple Moralities, consists of eight ethnographic chapters and the Afterword. The strongest cases for the continuity between Soviet and post-Soviet moral worlds are made in chapters by Ladykowska and Panchenko. Ladykowska's study looks at the Russian middle-aged school teachers with a Soviet atheist background, and analyses their transition into teaching religious courses and converting to Christianity. Panchenko stresses continuity of disciplinary practices and moral norms of the late Soviet period, which are utilised as cultural resources by the participants of a new religious movement in Siberia.

Chapters by Caldwell, Tocheva and Kollner are dedicated to the aspects of cooperation between religious institutions and laity in various charitable activities. Kollner analyses how the local discourses of morality are

shaped by two types of charitable donations – monetary and labour contributions – in the reconstruction of the Orthodox churches in the city of Vladimir. Caldwell discusses the collaboration of mainly non-Orthodox Christian congregations on various social justice projects in Moscow, and demonstrates how the proper enactment of religious practices and beliefs leads participants to enact a proper morality. Tocheva, on the other hand, points out that grassroots charities in two Orthodox parishes in St Petersburg region are more of a secular phenomenon devoid of any religious belief, with laity rather than clergy in charge of donations management and distribution.

Kormina and Styrkov's chapter makes a case for the discontinuity between pre-revolutionary and new religiosity by examining the worship of the female saint St Xenia of Saint Petersburg, whose canonisation they see as an attempt by religious institutions to maintain connection with 'irregular' post-Soviet religiosity. Rousselet looks at another post-Soviet canonisation, that of the last tsarist family, as both radical break with the Soviet ideology and as a way for an individual believer to reconnect with past traditions and re-evaluate history.

Raubisko analyses the gradual dissolution of tradition in the Chechen Republic. By identifying tradition as a social space where virtues are learned and enacted, she demonstrates how disruptions disturb the moral habitus and lead to moral confusion. This chapter arguably makes the strongest case for Zigon's theory of moral breakdowns, exposing the crisis of all three aspects of morality.

In the Afterword, Wanner suggests considering multiple understandings of the secular in order to grasp sources of multiple moralities that have emerged in the post-Soviet space. She argues for the instrumental role of the Soviet state in erasing religious memories, while maintaining religious sensibilities through ritualised political life and refocusing the ways of knowing from the supernatural toward the scientific.

In this volume, the discussion of multiple moralities, religions and secularisms is put forth by multiple voices of researchers as well. Contributors come from various Russian, European and American academic institutions, representing different levels of ethnographic intimacy and theoretical engagement. While this disparity could end up as a flaw, as often happens with edited volumes, in this case it complements well the complexity of the moral worlds of informants and heterogeneity of local moral discourses. Broad in geographical scope, the chapters are almost exclusively dedicated to the Russian Orthodoxy, which actually helps to fill a gap in the anthropological study of Christianity. This volume also enriches the study of secularism, religion and morality in post-Soviet studies and beyond.

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